

THE NEW BERNARDI



FRIEDRICH VON BERNHARDI
(General of Cavalry)

THE
NEW BERNHARDI

"WORLD POWER OR DOWNFALL"

BY
FRIEDRICH VON BERNHARDI
(General of Cavalry)

Author of "Germany and the New War."

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Posse 20 11 14
General Command

Dear Sir

I received yesterday your letter, written on the 30 Oct, and am personally willing to write the articles; if you wish to have, accepting the considerations by you proposed that being for the present in active service I must have the permission from his Excellency the Emperor before I do. Truly I wrote yesterday to Head quarters - and as

soon, as I have gotten the order for permission I shall send you one or two articles on the present war.

very truly
von Bernhard
General of Cavalry

LETTER FROM GENERAL VON BERNHARD!
In which he explains how he has to obtain permission from the Kaiser to write, as he is at present on active service

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

THIS volume bears the title "The New Bernhardi," inasmuch as it reveals the author of "Germany and the Next War" in a new and unexpected light.

It has been written by Gen. Friedrich von Bernhardi whilst he has been engaged on active service, and is the only work that he has penned since the outbreak of the War. It gives his latest views on the campaign, and on his country's dreams of "World Power or Downfall." It also exhibits a remarkable change in attitude when it is compared with his aggressive utterances in "Germany and the Next War," a book which has been sold by hundreds of thousands, and which has warned England so convincingly as to the future she might expect should German arms prove victorious.

It should be added that Chapters I to IV appeared originally in the *New York American*, and that Chapters V and VI are reprinted here by special permission of the *Times*.

The significance of "The New Bernhardi" is emphasised by the part that the Emperor William has played in its production—a part that is disclosed in the letter by the author that is reproduced on the opposite page.

LONDON,

April 22, 1915.

PREFACE.

The bulk of the people of this country and the United States certainly received a shock in the early days of the war when General von Bernhardi's book "Germany and the Next War" was presented to them in a cheap and accessible form. It is safe to assert that up to that period the "common dim populations" knew little about the principles or the ambitions cherished by the worst elements in the military classes of the German nation.

Bernhardi's book was as a searchlight flung suddenly into the depths of a dark and bewildering abyss.

In one respect, at least, the Allies owe a very deep debt of gratitude to this candid but rather obtuse writer. He made clear to the dullest imaginations that the ruling clique in Germany had no illusions about world wide

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peace, but, on the contrary, held tight to the notion that "War is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element in the life of mankind which cannot be dispensed with."

In other words, that "War is the father of all things," and that the current desire for peace had not only served to render the most civilised nations anaemic but also marked a decay of spirit and political courage. Indeed, he asserted that the efforts to abolish War must not only be termed foolish but absolutely immoral and unworthy of the human race.

From this he developed his famous "Might is Right" theory which gave a key that never failed to open the doors to much that had baffled and eluded ordinary observers in German diplomacy and in Germany's disregard for treaty obligations and the more humane considerations of a vast military campaign.

Finally, in his chapter, "World Power or Downfall," he told the German people frankly that they had fought in their last great wars for national union and for their

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position among the Powers of Europe. They had now to decide whether they wished to develop into and maintain a World Empire, "and procure for German spirit and German ideas that fit recognition which has been hitherto withheld from them."

Had the German campaign in Belgium and France proceeded on the lines that the Prussian leaders hoped, there is little doubt that this volume, "Germany and the Next War," would at all events, in the minds of the German people, have become a classic. It had the right savour of arrogance. It took high views of the future. It was penetrated by the correct Teutonic spirit of prophecy and reverence for such master minds as Treitschke, the All Highest War Lord; Goethe, and Frederick the Great. And the vistas of victory it opened out—on paper—were gratifying and enormous.

As a matter of fact, we heard very little for some months in extenuation of his conclusions. The chief German apologists devoted their chief energies to a defence of his philosophy, and to a watering-down of certain of his political theories that might give offence to

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possible allies or annoy neutral powers whose good opinion might be of value in the future. As a shrewd American critic pointed out, no excuse was offered for the fact that he had considered, in detail the tactics necessary in case of war with France and England laying out a programme which in the first few weeks of August was followed so exactly by the German War Office as to appear to have been inspired. His strategy stood for the arbitration of Time.

Nevertheless the poisons of his conclusions "Germany and the Next War" continued to do their deadly but beneficent work. They helped fair and thoughtful nations to strip the German people of all that tight fitting vesture of intrigue and duplicity which their diplomats had so carefully and so cunningly woven around them. Again and again vital units of dispute between Germany and England were taken under the deadly fire of artillery seized from General von Bernhardi's incautious boastfulness, lack of perspective and ignorance of the Eternal Verities.

So matters drifted onward till Herr Bernburg hastened to the United States and

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discovered for himself how outstanding and representative a figure this General of Cavalry in the German Army had become in the eyes of thoughtful critics throughout the world. At that time it was said openly in New York that no name, not even that of the Kaiser himself, had been on so many lips in the heated discussions of the ethics of the Great War as that of Bernhardi. He had raised a tremendous furore of praise and revilement, yet not once had he made in answer to his critics. He had remained as one that was dead.

What editors and publishers could not obtain for gold a sense of fair play, or for prodigal entreaties, Dernburg secured by the dispatch of a single cablegram. Von Bernhardi was given direct permission by the German Emperor to break the seal of silence imposed on him by the exigencies of the war in Europe. And, most valuable of all in the eyes of German diplomatists, he was ordered to explain himself, and his own astoundingly frank praise of War as a thing of beneficence to the world in general and to Germany in particular.

How he has accomplished this difficult and humiliating task can be gleaned by a perusal

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of the following pages. Like "Germany and the Next War" this book is valuable for the illumination it affords on "the ferocious hatred" which even representative Germans like von Bernhardi cherish against England, and on the glib facility with which even the most successful philosophers and soldiers like von Bernhardi will—at the bidding of their All Highest War Lord—eat their own words. "The New Bernhardi" is assuredly not an impressive figure. On the contrary, he is puny, weak, and whining, a vastly different creature to that proud philosopher in shining armour that stalked so magnificently through the pages of "Germany and the Next War," rattling his sabre and crying aloud, "Among all political sins the sin of feebleness is the most contemptible, it is the political sin against the Holy Ghost."

Various critics have assailed him already for his childish and futile change of front. For instance, Mr. Oswald Barron "The Londoner" in the *Evening News*, does not scruple to declare

"He cuts as poor a figure as any rogue who ever shambled into the dock. Look at him now; read

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his last articles. Read between the lines of them and you will know that the powers above him have come to the opinion that the Bernhardi book, admirably Prussian though it was, has proved over-strong meat for the neutral peoples who have read with amazement and disgust that revelation of the German soul. Therefore a word of authority has gone out. Bernhardi, obedient with Potsdam obedience, has taken his orders to eat his words for the sake of American opinion.

"Now we have an edifying sight," adds Mr. Oswald Barron. "Here is your bold Bernhardi whining out an apology. Kind gentlemen, honest American friends, do not take for a Bernhardist the poor chap whose words, softer than butter, protest that he has always been misunderstood. All that he meant by that talk about World Power, by those careless phrases about a France that must be 'completely crushed,' about accounts that had to be 'squared in one way or another,' was that Germany's ideal was pure neighbourliness, the peaceful development of industries side by side with peoples who should have understood that the German eagle's natural diet was cauary-s'ed.

"It might be, yet people who cannot read much Bernhardi have read *Aesop's Fables*, know the tale of the wolf and the lamb. I will pin him but to one word among all his shuffling words. 'The Triple Alliance,' he says, 'was established as a coalition for defence alone.' Very well, then. One member of the Triple Alliance has kept out of this German war, denouacing it as a war of mere aggression, having no quality of a defensive war."

Yet, pathetic as is his present position, it

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would be a mistake even to-day to underestimate the importance of this apologia or of its writer. For instance, last year General von Bernhardi crossed to the United States by way of the Pacific, and went to all the principal cities of America on a secret mission to advise Germans in the various German centres of the purpose, the plans, and the righteousness of the impending war that was to stagger the world. He told the whole story of the campaign, it is said, with all the essentials of its programme the year before it began. Indeed, the *Toronto Globe* asserts

"Very unmistakable were his references to the planned march through Belgium and the taking of Paris. He did not mince matters. Questions of morals, of international treaties of national rights, he brushed aside. 'Law,' he said, 'is a malediction, the reality is force. Law is for weaklings, force is for strong men and strong nations'"

On that occasion he had a veritable tour of triumph through the most German cities of the United States. He was hailed as the Man in the Confidence of the Kaiser—however much hyphenated Americans may now try to persuade us to believe "no one pays any attention to von Bernhardi at home".

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As to the man himself, it may be of interest, perhaps, to recall here that he was born at Petrograd in 1849, and is therefore sixty-six years of age. He studied in Berlin, and, after the usual course of the Military Academy, joined a regiment of hussars. He was raised to the rank of General of Cavalry in 1901, but in normal times lives on his estates in Silesia. He now acts as Acting Commanding-General in Posen. He is tall, spare, very erect, has a beard streaked with grey, and a head straight in the back—a typical heel-clicking Prussian officer, rather prosy as a speaker, but very aggressive in manner. He is a great reader, and on his travels always seems to have a book in his hand—usually an English one, occasionally a novel.

His wife is an intelligent cultivated woman who speaks several languages, is fond of reading, and plays the piano with almost professional skill. Her complexion is fair with light hair touched with grey, and soft blue eyes. Like her husband, she is positive in her likes and dislikes, and is by no means slow to express her approval or disapproval of a person, an action, or an incident.

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It will also be noted that even in this translation Bernhardi says what he wants to say clearly and without any flourish. In fact, his friends declare that he possesses more skill with the pen than any other German military leader. And powerful neutral critics can be found who hold that, in the old pre-war days, he was "a military expert who happened to be also a thinker, a vivid transmitter of German imperialist ideas, one who was deeply devoted to his profession, and penetrated thoroughly by that profound passion of German nationalism and patriotism which even those who most lament or hate what they conceive to be its fatal international harvest, must respect."

In many ways, it must, therefore, be regarded as a pity that he has wrecked so fine a character and reputation on the shifty sands of German imperial intrigue

STANHOPE W. SPRIGG.

PART I.

Bernhardi on his Defence.

CHAPTER I

BERNHARDI EXPLAINS THAT HE HAS BEEN MISCONSTRUED.

FROM many letters which have come to me from the United States and from American newspapers I observe that my books, "Germany and the Next War," and "Our Future," are being used in the United States by the Press for the purpose of stirring up public opinion against Germany as the Power really responsible for the World War.

It is alleged that I had, in a frivolous manner, argued for war, that I had pictured war, and especially war of conquest, as a necessary, and, indeed, the most reliable, instrument of statesmanship; that I had preached a war against England, had proclaimed that the destruction of the British world-empire

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was a world necessity, and that I had put forward as the essential aim of German statesmanship the erection of a German world domination.

Thus I am accused of being a participant in the guilt that lies upon those who began the struggle now shaking the world, a struggle which, therefore, is declared to have its root and origin in the unheard of and unjustified claims to power on the part of Germany—in her world threatening militarism.

INNOCENT REMARKS MISUNDERSTOOD.

Even such innocent remarks as that the Germans with the Irish represent in the United States a political power which an administration must take into account are represented as though by this simple statement of fact I had intended to point out the possibility of dominating America's foreign policy in the interest of Germany.

All this rests upon an absolutely erroneous understanding of what I have written, nothing like it can be read out of my books unless one tears out of their context certain details and mistranslates other details.

WAR IS A NECESSITY.

I confess that sometimes one really feels tempted to yield to the belief that such a misleading interpretation of my words is the work of conscious error, for whovér reads what I have written consecutively and without bias must—if he is an honest seeker after the truth—arrive at a conception entirely different to that which seems to have become current in America.

I have indeed proven, I think, that war is a necessity in the life of nations—notwithstanding that it carries in its train unspeakable misery, notwithstanding that often it allows the lower instincts of the human being to assert themselves; for, on the other hand, all the noble characteristics of human nature, most noble of all the unselfish devotion to an ideal, the spirit of self-sacrifice in the service of that ideal, are in war exhibited.

Demonstration of the possession of these high qualities by a nation would naturally lead it to the place of influence it deserved in the world, thus leading to the furtherance of the cause of civilisation and humanity. This I have proven, alike from a study of history and from a consideration of the nature of man

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from a comparison of national characteristics and ideals, from a scrutiny of the issues of the law of combat in all natural development. I have claimed that thus war has in history justified itself and would in the future continue so to do

On the other hand, I have always, and just as emphatically, pointed out that war, and especially war of conquest, must be held an extraordinary means of politics, that it is justified only when waged for the highest interests and ideals of a nation and after all peaceful means of safeguarding those highest interests have been exhausted

WHEN IT IS THE DUTY OF A FREE NATION TO SEIZE ARMS.

I have emphasised in the most pointed manner the moral requisites in connection with a political use of warfare, and have especially and at length dwelt upon the enormity of the responsibility of him who begins a war.

How despicable are wars waged for frivolous or purely material purposes—this I have not failed to declare; how, on the other hand, the highest interests of a nation must never be

UNDERSTANDING WITH AMERICA.

sacrificed to nerveless or slothful love of peace —that I have not failed to assert.

*From the standpoint of the historian and the philosopher I admit it to be my opinion that it may be not only the right, but, under certain circumstances, the duty of a free nation to seize arms and to submit itself to all the external misery of war in order that it may safeguard that which for it is the highest and most holy.

I should think that in a special way among the American people, who won their liberty in a conflict against England, and who achieved the acknowledged sovereignty of the Federal Union only through the heroic struggle in which two sincere interpreters of the American Constitution gloriously contended on the battlefields of '61-'65, there would be a lively understanding of this view.

JEALOUS OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

Can it be believed that Americans, heirs of this tradition of the necessity of warfare, would see the development of their nation interfered with, its destiny thwarted, for instance, by the violation of the Monroe

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Doctrine, the denial of American authority over the Panama Canal or by attack upon its insular possessions, without resorting to arms for the protection of its vital interests?

Can it be doubted then that America must have in its heart a sympathetic understanding, when once it has heard the truth concerning them, of the position of Germany and the behaviour of Germany—Germany, threatened from all sides, Germany, whose “militarism” has only the purpose of enabling her to ward off the attacks of enemies who would instantly overpower the defenceless?

It is from this standpoint that my books, therefore, maintained that war may, under certain circumstances, become necessary, and pointed out in particular that a war between Germany and England was, in all probability, inevitable, pointed out the necessity that, such being the case, Germany must prepare herself, both from the political and the military standpoint, for the possibility.

It was by no means from the assumption that the destruction of English world domination is a preliminary condition necessary for the neutral development of Germany that I

PEACE WITH ENGLAND.

deduced the inevitability of such a war ; much less from an assumption that Germany would attain a world domination, justly due to her, only upon the ruins of the British Empire.

The exact opposite is the case.

I showed that our Fatherland would and could very well satisfy all its interests alongside of England, and that it would far prefer to live in peace with England.

I expressed this most explicitly. I admitted, indeed, that peaceful development, the one alongside of the other, however desirable, was not an historic probability, for the reason that England would not have it that way, but would force us into conflict.

ENGLAND'S ATTITUDE SHOWN BY HISTORY.

I proved from history that during recent centuries it had been England's aim to play the European states against each other, that it had always made anxious efforts to maintain equilibrium among those states, never tolerating that any should rise to a position of power that might become dangerous to England herself ; that England had developed her naval

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power to its imposing strength in order to be able to control, and under circumstances limit, the overseas relations of the continental European states, if they should ever appear to threaten England's interests.

I deduced that this policy would in all probability be carried out with respect to Germany, in view of the fact that Germany's commerce and Germany's marine had shown a development threatening even for England. Evidence of these anti-German purposes were to be found a-plenty. In East Africa England had prevented the natural rounding out of our colonial possessions.

ENGLAND DETERMINED TO CRUSH GERMANY'S RISE.

When the Morocco question arose, though we violated no right in England, this policy met and faced us; in our railway policy in Asia Minor it crossed our purposes without a shadow of justification or right, everywhere the English have undertaken to limit our national development, and throw our allies aside from us.

And, always, in order to avoid war, we

WHY WAR MUST COME.

have retired ; always we have attempted to direct the development of our economic and political necessities alongside of England and not against England—that is the truth.

In view of the whole political scene as it had developed when I wrote my books ; in view, especially, of the English-French-Russian Entente, which manifestly was prosecuting positive purposes, I had reached the conviction that England would in the future, as it had done in the past, and, if necessary, with brute force, prevent any extension of Germany's power.

That, for this reason, war must sooner or later come—not because we desired to destroy the English world empire, but, on the contrary, because England would endeavour by force to prevent us developing alongside of herself into a real world power—that was my conviction.

Even from purely military reasons it was most unlikely—or rather it was out of the question—that we should have thought of attacking England. I put this very clearly in my book "Germany and the Next War"—a fact which, of course, is not mentioned in the press campaign for England. For, while

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England is in a position to do us very heavy damage without any risk to herself by bringing to a stop our entire overseas trade—thanks to a fleet three times ours in strength—we are as good as powerless against England.

So long as the British Fleet remains intact there can be no thought of crossing to England with an army, and the most we could do would be to damage British commerce to a very limited extent. These facts are not changed by the circumstance that the English people fear a German invasion—a fear which I am sure is not shared by the British Government.

NO EFFORT TO MAKE WAR ON ENGLAND.

And where have we ever exhibited politically the slightest inclination of making war on England? The Triple Alliance has always been, as it was established to be, a coalition for defence alone. And where, I ask, have we Germans ever violated an English right? Where have we opposed just English interests? By what concrete act have we ever exhibited a feeling of antagonism toward England?

The famous Kruger dispatch and the sympathy of the German people for the

GERMANY'S REAL AIM.

Boers in their losing fight for liberty—these probably constitute all the evidence that England could cite. But those were nothing more than expressions of sentiment, in no manner an exhibition of partisanship. On the contrary, during the Boer war official Germany maintained a strict neutrality which, indeed, operated as friendly to England.

That the heart of the German people was on the side of the oppressed sprung from a conscience which it is a good right of a people to possess, and whose voice it is no duty of theirs to silence. Yet for this we should expect to find understanding and sympathy, especially in free America, which would have to renounce the very principles of its being if it were to take the part of the oppressor of a free people.

Just as untrue as the claim that I urged war against England is the other claim that I held the attainment of German world dominion to be the real and natural aim of German development, and, therefore, also of German policy.

This allegation can only be based upon a

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The famous Kruger dispatch and the sympathy of the German people for the

PREJUDICED PUBLIC OPINION.

attempt to exercise an authoritative influence upon the interior destiny and upon the foreign policy of the United States

As a matter of fact, I only pointed out that natural causes, quite outside of the manipulation of scheming politicians, operated to bring about within the United States a political grouping which was an element in the situation.

SENTIMENT AGAINST GERMANY.

Of course, if simple statements of matter of fact, matters of fact which may not be neglected in any intelligent discussion among serious-minded people endeavouring to marshal the factors of a problem, are to be taken up in this way and interpreted as aggressive and sinister expressions, why, discussion ceases. If public opinion in America is so prejudiced against Germany that it imports into calm scientific statements like these of mine meanings which are not there, prejudice may justify itself and strengthen itself, but it will do nothing towards attaining the truth.

If, therefore, the manner in which my writings are being used in order to create

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those of more direct English descent pride themselves on their ancestry

These last have a lively sympathy for England, and consider it no violation of their love for their own country to work with all means towards the tightening of the bonds between their present Fatherland and the country of their ancestors. No one in America thinks the worse of them for that, everybody, even in America, finds that perfectly natural.

When, however, the Germans find themselves in political agreement, and especially when their political views coincide with those of the Irish—namely, in the opinion that it is no duty of the United States to take part in favour of England against Germany—why, then the entire press influenced by England hurls its attack

POINTING OUT ONLY NATURAL CAUSES.

My harmless statement of the simple fact that coincidence of view between Americans of German and Irish descent constituted a political factor—which practical politics would not be likely altogether to disregard—is interpreted as a threat that plotting German politicians would

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sentiment against Germany must be branded as thoroughly unjustified, this is only an illustration of the manner in which a large part of German literature is being drawn upon in order to adduce evidences that Germany long ago planned war against England, and that for years the only thought that has stirred the soul of the German people has been that of destroying England's world dominion, and replacing it by a German world empire.



CHAPTER II.

DESCRIBES WHAT GERMANY DESires.

A collection, fascinatingly written, of German expressions which are made to serve the purpose of promoting misunderstanding between Germany and the United States is furnished in a book entitled "Germany and England," written by the late J. A. Cramb, Professor in Queen's College, London, the American edition of which is enhanced by a preface written by an ex-American Ambassador to England, Mr. Joseph H. Choate.

It is worth while to discuss somewhat in detail the contents of this remarkable book, especially in view of the fact that it preserves the appearance of impartiality; that in a certain sense it does justice to the importance of

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England, and for these reasons, of course, is taken the more seriously.

Nevertheless the book is, in so far as it deals with conditions in, and the aims of, Germany, utterly untrustworthy. It is a work written with the avowed purpose of furnishing an argument for general obligatory military service in England. It therefore pictures the dangers threatening England, especially from Germany, in the blackest of colours.

LIFE AND AIMS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

It is probable that Professor Crabb, under the influence of his ruling purpose, really believed what in brilliant words he confided to these pages, the book even bears the stamp of a certain internal conviction. The author, however, clearly began the study of Germany with prejudiced mind, he has read into German literature whatever he wanted to find therein, and he has interpreted the life and aims of the German people from the stand-point of his predetermined conclusion. He has nowhere entered into the depths of things; the true German nature has remained a closed

"BERNHARDI ANSWERED."

book to him, even though he has given, in certain phases, an almost complimentary picture of Germany.

Being anxious to make obligatory military service palatable to the English, he, of course, cannot picture in an unfavourable light conditions in a country which has inaugurated such service. On the contrary, he is obliged to picture them as model conditions, and he really does that in so far as it serves his purpose.

STATEMENTS TRANSFORMED FOR PURPOSE OF ARGUMENT.

Professor Cramb also takes up my book, "Germany and the Next War." The American edition of Professor Cramb's book bears on its cover the legend, "Bernhardi Answered." It is to "Germany and the Next War" that he gives his principal attention. The tendency of his mind is revealed in his habit of completely transforming the sense of my statements in order to be able to use them in the spirit of his preconceived conclusion.

He finds the chief interest of my words to consist in their alleged attempt to find a moral

justification for war by Germany against England. Is it possible to find any moral justification for a war upon England? This is supposed to be the problem the answer to which forms the innermost purpose of my book.

Thus however is a direct and an absolute misrepresentation. The putting of such a question even to my own imagination was altogether impossible for the reason that I took the standpoint that Germany would not and should not attack England but on the other hand that England would attack us.

NEVER URGED GROWTH AT EXPENSE OF ENGLAND

My book therefore felt no need of finding a moral justification for this war though it did not fail to inquire how England would ever be able to justify ethically its attack upon us. (It is an attack for which we gave not the slightest just cause the violation of Belgium's neutrality employed by England as the pretext for the waging of the war planned long ago was not committed first by us. France, England and Belgium themselves had violated this neutrality before ever a German soldier put his foot on Belgian soil.)

TO LIVE IN PEACE.

It is true that I exhibited reasons which forced us to seek an extension of power; yet nowhere have I intimated, even by so much as a single word, that this should be done at the expense of England.

Everywhere I emphasised the truth that we preferred to live in peace with England; that England, however, would not permit us free development, and that therefore a war would be unavoidable. Thus it has come to pass in reality. England has attacked us in a most unjustifiable fashion for the purpose of checking our political and economical development.

Professor Cramb entirely alters the sense of my book by translating my alternative, "Weltmacht oder Niedergang," which, correctly translated, means "World Power or Decline," with the words, "World Dominion or Death." Every line in my book proves that I never thought of world dominion by Germany, certainly that I never demanded world dominion for her.

Another instance, perhaps worthy of noting, of Professor Cramb's inaccuracy may be gathered from his remark, "Bernhardi's

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opinion of our commanders is written all over his books" where is in fact, only in a single instance did I speak, and then only casually of the higher military leadership of England.

In a similar manner does Professor Crumb treat German literature in general, in so far as it is known to him—and to all appearance that is not far. Haeusser, Gieseblecht, Waltz, Mommeen, Treitschke and others are pictured as if by their historical works and scientific discussions they had either intentionally or unintentionally, endeavoured to promote the idea of German world dominion.

NOTHING COULD BE FURTHER FROM TRUTH

Nothing could be further from the truth. It would seem to be an absolutely wilful misconstruction of the work of these men. Science with us is impersonal and with us all historical research aims at a detached impartiality as perfect as is possible for the human mind. Almost never is the work of the German scientists or historians knowingly allowed to take on political colour.

Even Treitschke, to whom an entire chapter is devoted and who admittedly follows

WHAT TREITSCHKE TAUGHT.

a decidedly national tendency, keeps thoroughly aloof from such topics as aspiration to world dominion. By his inspired and inspiring writings, as well as through the living word of his lectures, Treitschke undoubtedly contributed to the promotion of German consciousness of herself and to the fostering of the longing for increased political power ; but that he dreamt any dream of German world dominion is a pure invention by Professor Cramb.

Treitschke was much too real and too sober a thinker, for that. Treitschke also, like myself, was convinced that England would oppose with all its might the further development of Germany, so much so that we would have to reckon with her opposition. Even from military considerations Treitschke looked upon the idea of a war of aggression against England with precisely as little favour as I look upon it.

But Professor Cramb cites even Goethe to establish proof of this lust for world dominion on the part of the Germans :

“Thou wal'st and stir'st in me a strong resolve :

“Towards highest being onward still to strive”

Professor Crumb asks what Goethe meant by this 'highest existence' this highest ideal, and he answers instantly and easily 'World dominion'. It is certainly extraordinary that a man of intelligence and education should allow himself even though through preconceptions however strong to be drawn into so groundless and frivolous a declination!

The idea that Goethe had the thought of German world dominion can scarcely be taken seriously. To make so unfounded a deduction from Faust he must have judged his readers entirely without knowledge of German literature and German history.

SHOWS ERROR IN SUCH A DEDUCTION

But then Professor Crumb felt that Germany had to be convicted of aggressive thoughts and an aggressive attitude towards England in order to justify the English policy of might. He felt it necessary that Germany for a long time past should have carried constantly in its mind this idea of attacking England and this hope of establishing its own world dominion on the ruins of the British Empire.

All this had to be prepared in advance.

ARE THE BRITISH IGNORANT?

consequently, Professor Cramb finds it necessary, and not a difficult task, to forget the greater part of German literature and put into the little part with which he is acquainted thoughts and tendencies which it never had. That nobody in England could "bring him to book" he knew very well, for practically nobody in England knows the German language, while so far as German literature is concerned, there rules (Cramb says so himself) the most abysmal ignorance.

MISJUDGES THE MOTIVES OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

But America, with its far deeper knowledge of German literature, surely will not be so easily fooled. One needs only to read the books mentioned by Professor Cramb in order to convince oneself that the professor has read them with an astonishing play of imagination.

Completely also does he misjudge the motives which rule the innermost thoughts of the people of Germany.

He believes that the dream of empire, once in former times held, that the efforts at world-domination made by Charlemagne, of the Saxon

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Emperors, and by the Hohenstaufens even to-day remains alive in the thoughts and dreams of the people. Nothing could be further removed from the truth. Of course, in poetry as well as in the souls of the people, in some of its phases, the Barbarossa fable lives—the thought that the buried Emperor will, at the appointed time, emerge from the Kyffhaeuser where he sleeps and will renew the power of the German Empire.

But then the fulfilment of this dream is held to have occurred in the presence of Emperor William I. Nothing is further from German thought than to see in this legend the idea of world-dominion on the contrary, only the most general conceptions of power and imperial glory are blended with the fading memory of the past.

CHAPTER III.

MAKES A FURIOUS ATTACK ON ENGLAND.

IN German schools Greek and Latin history is taught more thoroughly than German history, and when German history is taught it is always pointed out how the German nation, with its one-time tendency towards world dominion had strayed from its proper paths. The chief interest of the present in German history is found not in those false tendencies, but rather in the contest against the idea of a dominating religious Empire. It is the memory of the struggle for spiritual freedom, and not the worldly aims of the earlier imperial days, that are to-day able to stir to its depths the soul of the German people.

Just as erroneous as is the effort to prove

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the vanished Middle Age idea of empire a living thing in modern Germany are Professor Cramb's ideas as to the religious tendencies which move our people to-day. Here, too, one notices the intention to find among Germans the disposition to violence; for instance, to picture our politics as influenced by Nietzsche's "master and slave morality," and to be permeated by the Napoleonic thought of world conquest. All this is the most absolute perversion of the truth.

Professor Cramb over-estimates tremendously the influence of Nietzsche in Germany. This writer's attempt to supplant the altruistic morals of Christianity by the ethics of egotism and self-striving, the morality consisting of the self-assertion of superior mortals, is, it is perfectly true, being studied in Germany. It is absurd, however, to claim that the teachings of Nietzsche have overwhelmed the conscience of the German people or that they influence German politics. Such an assertion could only be made by one who lacks all comprehension of the German mind, and he has only learned to know, and that superficially, an isolated circle of so-called "young

CORSICA OR GALILEE?

Germany," politically and philosophically more or less unripe!

Even more adventurous than this over-estimation of Nietzsche, yet in close connection with it, is the invention of "Napoleonism," which is pictured as ruling Berlin to-day and as possessing in the atmosphere of that city "something of the clearness and consistency of a formulated creed."

DENIES "NAPOLEONISM" RULES BERLIN TO DAY.

It is asserted that a deep reverence is growing up in Germany "for the creed and the religion towards which this great and solitary spirit . . . struggled" And the professor rises to a phrase which, however resounding, is, if one knows Germany, altogether absurd. "Corsica, in a word, has conquered Galilee!" Where, except in his own brain, can Professor Cramb possibly have discovered these ideas?

In Germany, as a matter of fact, there is no Napoleonism, in Professor Cramb's sense, at all. As a general, we admire Bonaparte; for his mental powers we esteem him, and as

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soldiers we try to learn from him but for his ego religion which it is true bears a certain resemblance to Nietzsche ideas—in Germany, aside perhaps from a few unripe spirits and youthful sky stormers there can be found no appreciation

The creed is absolutely opposed to the German idea to which everywhere service to the cause stands superior to service to the person in which altruism has become second nature in which true greatness is exhibited in honest work and in unselfish devotion to ideal aims opposed absolutely to the German nature which since the inspiring development of the Prussian state and the coincident revival of the German Empire has learned fortitude in misfortune and generosity in victory has learned self control from its long past marked by tragic disaster and splendid success and to day follows only aims within the realm of possibility

FEEL DESIRE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

There is indeed penetrating the best souls of our nation a deep impulse. It is not however one which finds its expression either in

WHAT GERMANY SEEKS.

Napoleonism or in the ideas of Nietzsche, but in a truly religious field: in the striving of the individual for spiritual freedom. This striving finds its inspiration in Christian morals from which the husks of bygone time have been stripped, and in an enlightened patriotism, a determined resolution to secure for the German nation position alongside of the other great cultured nations which corresponds to its spiritual importance. Neither a new world religion nor a new world dominion is sought in Germany.

If one wishes to describe the German idea in brief words probably it can hardly be better done than by those of Longfellow:

Not enjoyment and not sorrow
Is our destined end or way,
But to act that each to-morrow
Finds us farther than to-day.

Let us then be up and doing
With a heart for any fate
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait.

Professor Cramp's book, in so far as it professes to be a description of German conditions and an exhibition of the German

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idea, is a falsehood from beginning to end, a falsehood set forth in brilliant words, and in part possibly in unconscious falsehood, but a falsehood nevertheless.

PROFESSOR CRAMB IN ERROR.

Just as in pretending to judge Germany Professor Cramb falls into complete error, so, when he considers England, does he exhibit peculiar illusions. Here he displays a picture, shining, ideal, magnificently conceived, sketched in scintillant verbiage. But yet one is obliged again and again to ask one's self whether, in the fact of naked truth, he could really have believed what he wrote in pages like these

"To give all men within its bounds an English mind, to give all who come within its sway the power to look at the things of man's life at the past, at the future, from the standpoint of an Englishman, to diffuse within its bounds that high tolerance in religion which has marked this empire from its foundation, that reverence yet boldness, before the mysteriousness of life and death characteristic of our great poets and our great thinkers, that love of free institutions, that pursuit of even higher justice and a larger freedom which rightly or wrongly, we associate with the temper and character of our race wherever it is dominant and secure."

DESTRUCTION OF GERMANY.

Thus does Professor Crabb picture the beautiful aims of British imperialism, while Germany is accused not only of aiming at a merely material world dominion, but even at a dominion of merely German intellect and German culture.

While this supposed purpose is represented as one that must lead to war with England for the reason that it could be established only upon the ruins of the British Empire, no mention is indulged of the fact that the British dream can be realised only by the destruction of Germany, whose spiritual ideals and mental habits are in many ways inconsistent with British standards. It is a prerogative, self-claimed, as a matter of course, for English world empire, that all human beings are to be pressed into the English pattern and raised to look at everything in the world from the standpoint of an Englishman.

Assuredly it is a great and daring conception to attempt to make the whole world English, a conception which Lord Rosebery once expressed, yet the conception conceals a gigantic self-deception and is in itself so full of

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contradiction that the world need hardly be expected to take it seriously

WHERE WOULD BE FREEDOM AND JUSTICE?

Where would remain the higher freedom and justice when human beings throughout that part of the world which the British Empire dominates should think and feel as Englishmen? Where then would remain the free development of national individualities, where the just representation of varied interests if the British standpoint alone is to rule?

How can that country pride of higher freedom and justice which for centuries has held Ireland enslaved which for low mercenary motives robbed the Boers of their freedom granting them finally a certain measure of self government only because—according to English testimony—England was unable to conquer them absolutely in a military sense “which by

**Erskine Childers in “War and the Army Blanche* To
aim at so cowing the Boer national spirit to gain
a permanent political ascendancy for ourselves was the
object beyond our power To achieve
People’s political fusion under our own flag was the

HOW ENGLAND ACTED.

treachery and brute force subjugated India, and for selfish purposes exploited it ; † which, in Egypt, stands in the way of cultural development, because therein lies no direct advantage of gain for England ; which keeps the Fellahs in virtual slavery ; which, in an hour of perfect peace and without a glimmer of justification, seized possession of the free Malay States ; which, wherever Germany tried by honest means to increase its colonial possessions and its sphere of influence, without violating even a shadow of an English right, in East Africa, in the Pacific, and in Morocco, opposed Germany's natural development with threats of war ; which to-day, in the United States, through the aid of an influential press and news agencies helplessly dependent upon the British Foreign Office, lays its heavy hand upon public opinion, distorting the events of every day, suppressing the truth, disseminating falsehoods, in a calculated effort to make this free land subservient

utmost we could secure. That meant conditional surrender on the promise of future autonomy.")

† India is claimed to pay alone about four hundred million marks for the pensioning of English officers and officials.

to English interests and to the English stand point which everywhere spreads the ridiculous claim that a strong and independent nation of Germans would be a danger to America and would violate the Monroe Doctrine, in spite of the fact that our interests everywhere are common with those of America, which everywhere attempts to brand German militarism which has only a defensive significance, as a constant challenge to combat while yet it remains silent as the tomb on the subject of the English sea militarism which controls the entire maritime intercourse of the world which raises no word against the militarism of Russia and France which for years has been planning together with France, Russia and Belgium as is now proven this war of aggression against Germany which attempted also to draw Holland into the plot and which finally without justification and without reason and with only the first excuse which could be hastily snatched has attacked Germany!

How convincing and beautiful in the ears of every impartial being must sound the professions of that England which for centuries

WHAT ABSOLUTE RULE MEANS.

past has ruthlessly pursued a policy of self-interest, has been deaf and blind to the rights of neutrals wherever its own interests were concerned—these professions which chant of higher freedom and justice, hymn its own love for peace, raise paeans to the noble aims of its own politics!

But, of course, higher liberty and true justice may be—Professor Cramb gives his own word for it—aspired to only where the English race rules absolutely, “wherever it is dominant and seems” English dominance, therefore, is the essential preliminary for the realisation of all that is good

HIGHER LIBERTY ONLY WHERE ENGLAND RULES.

Here also emerges the true meaning of many things which are hidden from the eyes of the ignorant mob. Liberty means the liberty of the ruling nation to do its will upon subjugated states, freedom means the freedom of the rich to suppress the poor, justice in its higher meaning is the justice which the master metes out to his slaves.

All this England clearly teaches us. The

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love of peace, which England so ardently professes, is to be understood in the same sense. Of course, England wants peace, and it needs peace in order to solve according to its own mind and for its own benefit the multifarious problems of its widely inconsistent mastery of subject races and territories, but only peace under English domination, peace within the sphere of its own world and under the police oversight of its fleet.

WHEN ENGLAND'S CUPIDITY IS AROUSED.

Whenever a people or state will not humiliate themselves to this order of things, but attempt to develop independent, autonomous power, as, for instance, Germany dares attempt it; or wherever a territory attracts England's cupidity, as did the Boer Republics, there England's love for peace ceases. It is perhaps through this much-lauded love of peace that the mass of English people have long since become unused to the bearing of arms, but hordes of mercenaries, from all parts of the world, are impressed to supplement the hired arm which, with tremendous efforts, is slowly

DOMINION OR LIBERTY.

raised to champion the cause of higher liberty and a true justice.

If one should desire to compare the aims and efforts of England with those of Germany, and to express this comparison briefly and pregnantly in single words, the word for England would be dominion, and for Germany liberty..

CHAPTER IV.

EXPLAINS WHY "WE NEVER WANTED WAR WITH ENGLAND."

WHOEVER studies the history of Germany since the breakdown of the old empire and the triumphs of the papacy at the end of the Hohenstaufen era will soon be convinced that its essential element was a struggle, not for world-conquest, as is claimed by British misrepresentations, but for spiritual and political liberty

As far back as in the Roman days the Germans were fighting for freedom and independence, for that they fought and won their victories in the Teutoburger Forest. Then, of course, came the time when the Germans in overflowing strength poured out over neighbouring lands and did try to extend their sway over the Continent. In that effort the

AN APPEAL TO HISTORY.

German people went on the rocks, and they have never since come back to the idea

In the age of the great discoveries, when the curtain was being withdrawn that so long had hidden the remoter regions of the globe, Germany, it happened, was involved in great religious wars. It, therefore, missed its chance to take part in the partition of the earth. Its destiny in those years was to lay the foundation for religious liberty upon which rests, to-day the entire culture of the world. Then, in long wars that brought heavy losses, it defended itself against the Spanish and French lust for conquest, and defended the world of culture against the Moslem invasion.

Under Frederick the Great, Prussia, then the seat of German intellectual liberty, fought not only to maintain its existence as a State, but also to secure liberty of independent development against the united strength of a retrogressive world conception.

With heart and soul Prussia's great King at the same time stood on the side of the American champions of liberty. Later, when Napoleon thought to establish a French world dominion, it again was the Prussian and the

THE NEW BERNARDI.

German people who took up the sword for the liberty of Europe, and with heroic effort broke the chain of slavery which the Corsican had forged. England did fight bravely at Waterloo, but that battle was to a large extent won by German and Dutch troops, just as the victories of Wellington against the Napoleonic dominion in Spain were won by troops the greater part of whom were German.

MANY WARS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Then came the wars of the nineteenth century. In 1866 Prussia fought for and won Germany's independence from Austrian domination. In 1870 it defended itself against France's attempted violations, and in the struggle attained its freedom and its imperial unity on French soil.

And now the war of to-day!

Like all great struggles of Germany since the age of the Reformation, it is a war for liberty and independence—and this time from the yoke of England.

Together with Russia, a land of despotism, unworthy of human nature, and with France, thirsting for revenge, England, this land which

THE WORLD IN ARMS.

claims as its own private property all liberty, all justice, all spiritual superiority, has conspired to overthrow and destroy Germany, which never violated England's rights. And why? Only because German commerce seems to be growing burdensome to England; the increasing German fleet, called into being solely to protect German commerce, seems to be growing dangerous, and the expanding vigour manifested by the German people seems to threaten the world dominion of Great Britain. Therefore, it calls its legions from barbarous Africa and Mongolian Asia in order to have them slaughtered for England's sake, because England, in spite of its European allies, feels too weak to fight the war, unjustifiably begun, to a victorious conclusion.

Against this world in arms Germany and Austria heroically stand alone. Cut off from world traffic and only trusting to their own strength, they are fighting not alone for their own right to live their national lives in independence and liberty, but at the same time fighting the cause of all nations for the freedom of the seas from the yoke of British naval supremacy, and for the autonomous right

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The social and constitutional conditions, which have of imperative necessity developed in the course of our often tragic history, will realise how dangerous it is to drive to the uttermost a patient and peaceful but not all-enduring nation like the German, which now will never lay down its arms until England shall have surrendered its self-assumed policy of world dominion, shall have professed itself satisfied at last to be that which it is entitled to be, in honour and in peace, one of the great cultural nations alongside of other cultural nations

And should just fate give us victory in the war now raging, then shall an amazed world realise that we shall never attempt to build for ourselves a world dominion upon the ruins of vanquished neighbour states

In the course of a history often unhappy and tragic, the lesson has come to us that the conquest of territory populated by strange people, that dominion over foreign nationalities, where practised to a large extent, can never lead to healthy development; that the endeavour to obtain even limited world dominion eats up the marrow of the people

IF WE GAIN VICTORY.

that undertake it and does not strengthen them. Long ago we realised also that the progress of civilisation cannot rest upon the material or intellectual attainments of a single nation ; that, on the contrary, spiritual and an intellectual competition of varied national individualities are requisite to the attainment of the highest aims of humanity.

WANTS ASSURANCE OF FUTURE PEACE.

If victory should come to us, as the progress of the war thus far permits us to hope, we, of course, will be anxious to strengthen the position and power of our own nation and that of our allies and friends in Europe in such a way that our existence as a State and our independence will never again be threatened as it has been threatened in this war. This we owe to the countless fallen heroes who have shed their blood for Germany's future. In what way that is to be done cannot as yet be told. It depends entirely upon the course of the events of the war.

One thing, however, is certain. We shall never try to erect our power upon the

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shoulders of oppressed and subjugated States.

It is just as certain, also, that we should never think of assuming an antagonistic attitude towards America, much less dream of questioning the Monroe Doctrine. What advantages could we possibly expect from such behaviour? Visionaries talk of the conquest of Canada by the Germans and of the acquisition of other colonies upon the continent!

How could such dreams, even if they were for a moment cherished, possibly be carried out (even if we are so happy as to achieve an outlook for enduring peace at home on the advantages of victory) by a policy of wild adventure abroad?

Whence would come the enormous fleets necessary in order to carry out an attack necessary against the enormous resources of the United States, or to maintain across the broad Atlantic a contact of communication between an attacking army and the home country?

And the idea that the so-called German militarism—which, as a matter of fact, is an

OUR PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES.

extravagant name for a system of citizen soldiery—might in the case of a German victory become a danger for the world in general, and especially for the American Continent, is equally groundless.

The German social and state idea, with its grouping together of the military forces of the country, like the well-planned organisation of our civil life, was born in the dangers which inhere in our geographical position.

GERMAN MILITARISM NO MENACE TO AMERICA.

No educated German will entertain the thought of attempting to impose on other states, or to picture as patterns applicable to all states conditions especially required by our peculiar circumstances; to force similar institutions upon states the geographical positions of which, and the economical and political structures of which are extremely different—for instance, from those of a nation built up on lines such as those which the United States of America has followed in its development.

In this fact, however, surely there lies no reason for animosity on either side. Nobody

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in Germany thinks of exerting unjustified influence upon America, our victory in Europe would never mislead us into the political the military and the anti social stupidity of suggesting for America aims which would be unnatural to the interests of the United States our purpose if the victory be ours will be an entirely different one For us victory would be a new command to respect American interests especially as we would have to expect on the other hand that America would not interfere disturbingly with our sphere of interests

WORLD-WIDE PEACE IS GERMANY'S AIM

To all other nations moreover our good wishes would go forth and our endeavours would be directed for their free and independent development in order that their best traits which can thrive only in freedom, might be developed together with our own for common contribution toward world wide peace and the furtherance of the highest problems of humanity

Thus we consider a more beautiful and a

MUST FIGHT ALONE.

more worthy aim than that of England, to fill all mankind with the English spirit.

From the United States we expect neither direct nor indirect help in this gigantic struggle for existence. Long ago we understood that the only victories attained through its own strength count in the history of a nation. We shall therefore fight our battle to a finish alone, with German iron and with German blood.

Should there really be in the United States no comprehension of the epic importance and the significance for civilisation of the heroic struggle which Germany to-day is compelled to wage against an entire world in arms? For my part, too highly do I esteem the American people to allow myself to believe that there can be, or can long endure there, such a total lack of understanding.

CHAPTER V

DEALS WITH THE CRY "WORLD POWER OR DECLINE."

"World power or decline?"

In my book, "Germany and the Next War," I have put this question as decisive for the future of the German nation, not world *dominion*, but world *power*. There is a tremendous difference.

It has never been our intention to conquer and subjugate foreign states, in doing so, we should only create new enemies. We have not exercised our nation in arms and completed our armaments for such a purpose, just the same it has been our duty to strengthen our political

NO AGGRESSIVE AIMS.

and military power to such an extent that we should gain the possibility to develop our industrial and cultural interests unhampered by antagonistic powers

The object of German militarism was not to attack the liberty of other states, but to protect our own liberty, for, for years past, it has been possible to anticipate that the enemies that surrounded us on almost all sides would, sooner or later, join hands in order to throw down the rising Germany

Since 1870, France has been nourishing the idea of revenge, and has openly proclaimed as her goal the re-capture of Alsace-Lorraine.

The insatiable thirst for power of the Russian despotism threatened from the East. The Empire of the Tsar can only gain the mastery in the Baltic Sea and free access to the Mediterranean by vanquishing Germany and Austria.

The hatred of the Russians against those two states at the same time is rooted in the feeling of the cultural inferiority in the competition with the Germanic race. The Empire of the Tsar hoped to regain in a victorious war against

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its Western front whatever it had lost in power and prestige in its war against Japan.

England, finally, saw herself severely threatened in her own economic interests by the remarkable growth of German commerce, and at the same time feared the rapid increase of the German Navy, which in the course of time might put into question the unconditional rulership of the sea claimed by England. England has from time immemorial made endeavours to maintain the equilibrium of the Continental European States among themselves in order to be able to rule without the least difficulty.

KING EDWARD'S POLICY.

Since the days of King Edward VII. a *rapprochement* between the three States was very plainly noticeable. The difficulties which were placed in the path of Germany in her Moroccan policy showed plainly that the tendency of his *rapprochement* was growing constantly more antagonistic. Thus it became a commandment of self-preservation for Germany, located in the heart of Europe and surrounded on almost all sides by states antagonistic to her.

YEARS OF PEACE.

to arm herself so far as lay in her power in order to be able to ward off all her antagonists on all sides if circumstances made this necessary.

That such a preparation did not pursue any aggressive aims should have been proved sufficiently by the fact that for forty-four years, in spite of all antagonisms and often by making sacrifices, she maintained peace, and that she allowed to glide by all opportunities when she would have been able to attack her enemies under advantageous conditions. Germany, however, does not owe her growing power to a policy of expansion, grasping what may be grasped, but to a peaceful, untiring mental and economic effort and to the establishment of general obligatory military service which, during a century of custom, has educated the nation to a realisation of duty and development of strength.

Her power of defence is the real source of her prosperous development, and, at the same time, the only protection of her liberty and her borders, open on all sides.

More quickly than could have been anticipated, the question sprang up before us

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whether we should submit to dictation based upon the strength of our enemies, and thereby surrender the claim to be recognised as an authoritative Great Power, or whether we should offer defiance to unjustifiable threats and risk a war against this circle of enemies numerically superior

"POWER OR DECLINE."

"Power or decline" was the serious question which confronted us during the last days of July, 1914. The German Emperor did not hesitate to draw the sword for Germany's freedom to work out her destiny and to pick up the glove of strife insolently thrown before her

Russia mobilised for the protection of the Serbian assassins when Austria demanded suitable redress. France, as Russia's Ally, also called her armies to the colours. Thus Germany, in order not to be compelled to stand before her enemies unprepared, saw herself forced to adopt counter measures, but in doing this the *casus belli* was given. In spite of all the peaceful efforts of the German Emperor, the conflict of opposing elements,

POSITION OF BELGIUM.

the breaking point of the tremendous strain, could no longer be warded off.¹ England joined the two united Continental States under the pretext that Germany had violated Belgian neutrality, and now declares before all the world that she has grasped arms for the protection of the weak, for a German victory meant the subjugation of the world.

But what does this claim really amount to? England still owes proof that Germany has ever even threatened with her might a weaker State. Nothing of the sort has ever happened or even been planned since the German Empire has existed. Only we have carried war into Belgium, but Belgium had given up her own neutrality long before the German invasion began.

To-day there remains no longer any doubt, and it has been proved by unimpeachable documents which have been published in the *North German Gazette (Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung)*, that Belgium, long before the beginning of the war, had made agreements with England for the eventuality that it should become involved in a war with Germany. England had declared that, under such circumstances, it

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would positively land troops in Belgium, and Belgium has not made the least objection to this violation. England, therefore, simply considered Belgium as a vassal State which would have to serve her as a bulwark for her position on the Channel, and the nominally neutral Belgium absolutely submitted to this assumption.

The well-thought-out and grandly drawn plan of General Joffre, which would deserve all recognition from a military standpoint, appears—so far as one is able to judge from the events—to have been the following: The great mass of the French Army was to have been collected in Northern France, in order to advance against the right wing of the German Army. Then, if the Germans—as apparently was assumed, on the part of France, would be the case—would on their part march into Belgium, in order to gain room for the developments of their masses and to oppose the French offensive, then the Belgian Army, together with 150,000 English landed in the meanwhile, were to advance against the right flank of the Germans to smash their right wing, and, in conjunction with the French

GENERAL JOFFRE'S PLAN.

main Army, to roll up from the north the entire German Army standing on the French border Northward of Cologne, where only the weak fortress of Wesel had to be conquered, the Rhine was to be crossed, and the Army of the Allies was to enter into the heart of Germany in this manner by avoiding the strong fortifications on the Rhine proper.

This plan of the Allies demonstrates that Belgium in reality was not a neutral State, that Germany was justified both virtually and actually in, was even obliged to invade Belgium, and that Germany did not violate weak Belgium, but that on the contrary, Belgium had united herself with our worst enemies, with intentions which are still hidden in the dark of the Cabinets, but undoubtedly under the pressure and at the instigation of England, who is in every way responsible for the world war. This is no less ridiculous than the claim of England that our victory would mean the subjugation of the world. That is an assertion absolutely without foundation, which could not even be substantiated by any proofs of probability that would hold water, for German policy everywhere has tried

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in the most painstaking manner to protect the rights of third parties and also in her colonial aspirations has proceeded with the most far-reaching regard of the interests of other States.

What position, however, is England able to assume in this respect?

WHAT ENGLAND DID IN SOUTH AFRICA.

We all very well remember the heroic struggle of the weak Boer States and their subjugation by the English world empire which led to the fray hordes of oppressors from all parts of the world, in order to force the free farmers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State beneath her might, and to utilise for her own benefit the treasures of their soil. It does not change the facts in the least that the English in their procedure against the South African Republics brought forth an apparently legal justification, for no human being of judgment will permit himself to be misled by such justification as to the true conditions of things.

Now if this State, which everywhere

ENGLAND WEARS A MASK.

suppresses the liberty of the weak herself, this State which for centuries has kept Ireland in bondage, which supported France in the punifying of free Morocco, which enslaved India and Egypt, and which, in conjunction with Russia, seeks to subjugate weak Persia, which for reasons of her own has driven neutral Belgium into the war; which throughout the world calls the nations to arms to throw down Germany because she believes herself to be the stronger, if this State claims that a victory of Germany would mean the subjugation of the world, then every discerning person and every unprejudiced being must recognise the hypocritical mask behind which hides the regardless policy of power and interest.

LIBERATION FROM ENGLISH YOKE.

In reality exactly the opposite of the British claim is the case. In the war raging at present a victory of Germany would mean a liberation of the world from the English yoke. The chief commercial rights of the world are being controlled at certain suitable points of blockade by British cannon; the

'THE NEW BERNHARDI.'

in the most painstaking manner to protect the rights of third parties and also in her colonial aspirations has proceeded with the most far-reaching regard of the interests of other States.

What position, however, is England able to assume in this respect?

WHAT ENGLAND DID IN SOUTH AFRICA.

We all very well remember the heroic struggle of the weak Boer States and their subjugation by the English world empire which led to the fray hordes of oppressors from all parts of the world, in order to force the free farmers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State beneath her might, and to, utilise for her own benefit the treasures of their soil. It does not change the facts in the least that the English in their procedure against the South African Republics brought forth an apparently legal justification, for no human being of judgment will permit himself to be misled by such justification as to the true conditions of things.

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exits of the North Sea to the Atlantic Ocean the Strait of Gibraltar, the Suez Canal the Strait of Bab el Mandeb the Malacca Strait are in British possession and wherever England is not able to exert absolute control directly is for instance in Eastern Asia she has succeeded in enforcing other States into her service by a clever policy of finance and coalition An eloquent example of this is England's agreement with Japan

Like the sword of Democles English navalism hangs suspended above all peoples possessed of the coast or transoceanic colonies possible of attack They all in a certain sense are dependent on England which at any moment owing to her superior maritime strength is able to make impossible their oversea trade and to cut off the communication with their colonies Even now during the war itself it is easy to recognise how heavy is the pressure exerted by England in the ruthless manner trampling all international law in which she treats the neutrals and in the manner in which she violates public opinion through the spreading of false and tendentious information by the aid of her

PERILS OF ENGLISH NAVALISM.

cable monopoly. Even America is not free from this violation, for even there reports in keeping with the truth are scarcely ever given to publicity in an impartial manner. The entire telegraphic communication with Europe is subject to the British censor¹. All the dispatches of the Reuter service are forged, or at least coloured, to a greater or lesser extent in keeping with British policy.

Therefore the struggle which Germany is compelled to fight to a finish to-day is not only one for her own freedom and independence, for her own right of self-destination, and for the position of power due to her as one of the great civilised nations of the world, but at the same time a struggle for the liberty of the States of the Old World from the English yoke and for the free development of all the peoples which carry in themselves the strength and ability for independent action.

ENGLAND'S CHAINS WILL FETTER EUROPE.

If the Triple Entente under British guidance should be victorious, then England's chains will fetter all free movement of the

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European States to an even greater extent than heretofore; then England's rulership of the seas will be even more oppressive. England's world monopoly of trade will be utilised to even a greater and sharper extent than before the war in order to concentrate all the treasures of the world upon the British money market; then France and Russia will notice that they have fought in the first place the battles of England and not their own, and that they will have to carry the most essential costs of the war, while England—free from attack behind her protecting wall of waves—will take as her prerogative the chief advantages of the victor.

On the other hand, no weaker neutral State need fear any violation in the case of a victory on the part of Germany. Such a violation would not be in keeping with our policy, such as has been demonstrated for a century past, nor with the spirit which to-day permeates the entire nation.

GERMANY TO-DAY.

Of course, the German nation to-day is absolutely determined to carry through to a

WHAT GERMANS FEEL.

victorious conclusion the struggle which has been forced upon us in a most despicable manner, cost what it may ; to rebuild what the war has destroyed ; to win back again what our enemies have torn away from us ; to fight for and secure for ourselves and others the possibility of free development and absolute independence of the assumed British world dominion ; the freedom of national and state existence. In this spirit we all are one , all strive, all partisanship, has disappeared before the common danger , only Germans remain who are of one will , in all hearts the soldierly spirit of our fathers has been awakened ; the young and the old crowd each other to get to the colours ; members of every profession and trade grasp arms , battalions and squadrons spring from the earth.

Recently when I inspected some troops, the oldest volunteer standing in the front was sixty-two years old, the youngest fourteen and a half ; and the battalion was led by a professor of prehistoric sciences, while the battery was being commanded by a minister of the Gospel Both of them to-day are already adorned by the Iron Cross. That was a

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picture of the Germans of to-day. Whoever is not able to go to war seeks to make himself useful in some other way to serve the great cause, through contribution of money and in the organisation of all the powers of resistance. The women also are hotly competing in devotion and willingness to sacrifice in a splendid demonstration of their capabilities of nursing the sick and wounded. All the lower instincts seem to have disappeared; all the good and noble comes to the fore; it is elevating to-day to look into the eye of the German nation; 70,000,000 of people governed by the one spirit in absolute unison, devoting themselves to one ideal purpose; a vision such as the world has never seen before.

SELF-DEFENCE.

This spirit, however, which exalts all hearts, and brings every muscle into play, is not the spirit of conquest and of violation, of a measureless ambition for rulership and self-assertion, it has been called into play for self-defence, and if to-day we are aiming to throw down our opponents with every means, this is not in order to rule them in future and

GUARANTEE OF VICTORY.

to enslave them politically and economically, but in order to attain for ourselves in future the guarantee of peace.

In this spirit of unison and unshakable determination of victory, which at the same time will not despair in adversity, but will never abuse the power of the victor over the weaker in order to bend right by might, there lies the absolute guarantee of final victory. To-day no German exists who does not carry in his heart this conviction, and the course of the war hitherto appears to justify our confidence.

CHAPTER VI

PICTURES THE WAR THROUGH GERMAN EYES.

If England, aided by France and Russia, has been successful in spreading everywhere false information concerning the origin of the war and the aims of the German Government, then the military events upon the battlefields also have been reported throughout the world in the same distorted and lying manner by the English telegraph agencies. Therefore it ought to be of interest to the American public to be informed, in a concise manner, as to the truth of the events of the war in so far as they can be surveyed at such an early date, and in so far as the interests of further campaigning permit.

In the West the campaign was opened by the attack upon Liège. In spite of the fact that the Belgian frontier was held by much stronger forces than one could have anticipated on our part, the difficult undertaking succeeded

SURPRISE OF THE BELGIANS.

in a brilliant manner. A strong modern fortress fell a victim to a daring assault, and the Belgians, completely surprised, did not even dare to attempt to recapture the position lost. How daringly this incomparable undertaking was executed is shown by the circumstance that one of the forts was surprised and taken by a lieutenant with only 20 men, who captured the garrison of 200 men, which was caught absolutely unawares. From Liège the German attack turned against Namur, which also was overwhelmed in the briefest time, and while a part of the German army victoriously threw back the Belgians towards Antwerp, another penetrated across the French frontier, defeated the English-French forces it met, after a brief siege took Maubuge, and then entered more deeply into France. The Germans forced their way into the immediate vicinity of Paris, everywhere defeated the enemies opposing them, Frenchmen as well as Englishmen, and captured many cannon, machine guns, and prisoners.

In the meantime the French had carried out an energetic attack against the line at Metz-Saarburg. They had also entered Alsace,

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and had occupied Mülhausen. Both offensive operations, however, ended disastrously for them. The army which had entered Lorraine was thrown back behind the line of border fortifications, and suffered heavy losses in killed, wounded, and guns taken. The strong fort Manonviller was taken by the Germans, and in Alsace the French troops that had entered suffered a defeat near Mülhausen. They were obliged to retire to Belfort, while in the Vosges fighting was going on with changing success, until, also, here the Germans succeeded in throwing back the enemy almost entirely over the frontier.

These two enterprises against Lorraine and Alsace appear to have been undertaken by the French only for the purpose of distracting the attention of the Germans from the northern field of action. This success, however, was not attained.

BATTLE OF THE MARNE.

It is true that the advance guards of the German columns which had forced their way through Belgium and into France on the Marne met hostile forces far superior. These

TAKING OF ANTWERP.

were the main forces of the French Army. There was no reason to enter into an unequal struggle with them. The right wing of the German Army was withdrawn, and succeeded in breaking away from the enemy without losses worth mentioning, while the centre of the German forces maintained its position before the strong fortresses of Verdun and Toul.

The plan of the French to turn the right wing of the German Army miscarried absolutely. In advancing they did lengthen their left wing until finally it reached the sea, but at all times it was possible to put into position against them the German troops necessary, and the success sought became absolutely illusory when the bulk of the troops, until then employed in Belgium, became available, and when reinforcements from the interior of Germany could be brought to the front.

General von Beseler, with comparatively small forces, had attacked the fortress of Antwerp, defended by a largely superior force, but he had overwhelming artillery on his side. Everything depended upon the taking of Antwerp quickly, in order to protect both flank

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and rear of the army that had entered France against undertakings of the Belgian Army supported by English troops. This object was attained in most brilliant manner. Antwerp generally was assumed to be the strongest fortress in the world, and it deserved its name. By the English the city was considered the secure position from which they expected to hold their sway over Belgium. The fall of Antwerp was almost equal to a defeat of England. The reinforcements sent there by England, therefore, had a background largely political; but they were unable to prevent the loss of the city. With incomparable *élan* the Germans attacked and threw upon the forts an absolutely annihilating fire from their heavy guns. The garrison finally left the city in flight. Within twelve days of the opening of the bombardment Antwerp was taken—another accomplishment without equal in the history of wars.

Simultaneously the Germans took up the pursuit of the fleeing enemies, and threw them back along the coast of the sea, until the fight assumed a stationary character along the line of Nieuport, Ypres, Lille. In the meanwhile

SCENES IN THE TRENCHES.

the Allies had succeeded in bringing to the front very considerable reinforcements. New troops had arrived from England. Indian troops had been brought to the scene of action from Asia, Turcos and Senegal negroes from Africa, Canada had sent troops to support them. In brief, it was a world in arms, against which the Germans were obliged to defend themselves.

TRENCH WARFARE.

They have dug themselves into the earth at favourable points; slowly, almost as in a siege, they force their way forward against the enemy, also entrenched up to his teeth. From the sea coast to the frontier of Switzerland the opposing armies face each other in long, entrenched lines behind barbed wire and other obstacles, often only separated by a small distance, and struggle for each inch of ground. The artillery of each belligerent throws a death-bringing hail of projectiles over the blood-soaked battlefield from rearward positions. Thus far all attacks of the Allies have been shattered by the heroism of the German defenders, while we, as stated, slowly gain

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ground. High in the air the aviation corps fight each other and throw death-dealing bombs upon the enemy, while the English Fleet seeks to enter into the battle from the sea-side, but is obliged to maintain a respectful distance, owing to the heavy German coast artillery which borders the shores.

At the present time it is impossible to foresee how and by what means the final decision will be brought about. Each party will seek to prepare it in one or another way and whosoever has the most steady nerves and knows how to strike the sharpest and most telling blow will carry away the palm of victory. Apparently, however, the offensive power of the French is nearly exhausted, for their attacks are constantly growing weaker and the French headquarters seeks to maintain the courage of its troops by artificial means. Continually it consoles them with the brilliant successes of the Russians, which very soon will threaten the defenders of the German Western frontier from behind and thereby compel their retirement. All French prisoners that fall into our hands are thoroughly convinced that the Russian Armies

MOVEMENTS OF RUSSIANS.

are already occupying Berlin and that the German Army of the East has been absolutely crushed. This is the news that is dealt out to them officially in order to strengthen them in holding out in the heavy fight, to hold out in snow and rain and frost in the face of death.

This dishonesty of the French Army headquarters toward their own people is significant of the conditions in France. Its effects are positively grotesque, if one views it in comparison with the actual situation.

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been able to penetrate into Eastern Galicia in Austria because the strategical position made it necessary comparatively to weaken this wing of the Army

At any rate, if one desires to be able properly to judge the warlike conditions on the Eastern frontier, one must realise from the beginning that Germany and Austria-Hungary were obliged to fight against an enormous numerical superiority, in view of the fact that Germany had her chief forces on her Western frontier and that Austria-Hungary, the defensive forces of which in themselves were not developed in the same degree as those of Germany, was obliged to utilise a great portion of its power against Serbia and Montenegro. The total Serbian forces may be estimated at 300,000 men, those of Montenegro at 50,000. These are figures which in any event meant a considerable increase to the Russian Army. Only if one keeps in mind these facts, one is able to judge the successes and strategic measures of the Germans and Austro-Hungarians in their full meaning.

The well-known slowness of Russian mobi-

WHAT HINDENBURG DID.

lisation and of the placing into position of Russian units enabled the Germans to permit exceedingly small forces to hold the East, forces which, generally speaking, were concentrated in East Prussia, where the first blow was expected. In conformity with this expectation a strong Russian Army entered into East Prussia from the Niemen, and in the neighbourhood of Gumbinnen met the inferior German forces. According to their custom, the Russians dug themselves into the ground for a stubborn defence and the Germans tried to turn them. During these fights the German leader received word that a second Russian Army was approaching from the Narew toward the southern border of East Prussia and was threatening the line of retreat of the troops fighting in the neighbourhood of Gumbinnen.

ENTER GENERAL VON HINDENBURG.

General von Hindenburg, who now assumed command on the German side, decided to permit very small forces to hold out against the Niemeu army and to attack with the main part of his troops the Russian Army of the Narew. With the aid of the railroads he drew

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from the interior of the Empire some reinforcements of the second line and operated in such a manner that he succeeded in encircling from all sides the much superior Russian Army, while only one corps marched up to meet it in front. The German offensive was carried out with such quickness and daring that the Russians were never able to undertake suitable counter-measures. Some detachments of German troops marched up to 65 kilometres in a day and yet were able and fresh to attack. This attack struck the Russians with annihilating force. Only separate parts of the army were enabled to withdraw. Not one part succeeded in breaking through. Thousands fell victims to the German projectiles. Thousands were forced into the lakes and morasses, in that neighbourhood, and whosoever did not perish there was captured, as were two commanding generals, while the Commander-in-Chief remained dead on the battlefield.

It was a defeat which in the history of warfare stands almost isolated, an annihilation in the fullest sense of the word, for only weak remnants of the proud army were able to save themselves behind the sheltering Narow. The

BY ONE BLOW.

Germans, however, were spurred to new deeds by this victory. Turning from the battlefield, Hindenburg, with all available means, now turned back against the Russian Army of the Niemen, which, paralysed by a few German cavalrymen and local troops had not dared to undertake anything to help the other army, but had remained well within its entrenchments. It was now attacked in this position, which was secured almost like a fortress. Again the battle, so far as the Germans were concerned, was intended to be an encircling movement. The opponent, however, did not await the decision. The leader, General Rennenkampf, famous in Russia, evacuated the position as soon as he saw that his left flank had been turned, and started a precipitate retirement, which soon became a wild flight when the German Commander-in-Chief began with ruthless energy to start the pursuit, which was carried out until man and horse were completely exhausted. Thousands and thousands fell victims to German gunshot wounds. Uncounted thousands were captured. Many guns and almost the entire army material of the Russians was lost. Eastern Prussia was

CHANGES IN STRATEGY.

greatly superior force. Here, then, help had to be brought.

MORE VICTORIES.

General von Hindenburg—who to-day has risen to the rank of Field-Marshal—now grouped his strength in conjunction with the Austrian Armies, which enabled them to advance toward the Weichsel from Upper Silesia, and was able to threaten both the flank and the rear of the Russian Southern Army as well as Warsaw. This operation immediately forced the Russian commanders also to regroup their forces. Large parts of the southern army had to be drawn upon to face the German attack, all troops which were still on the march were hurriedly advanced, to a large extent *via* Warsaw; the newly-organised remnants of the army defeated in East Prussia were again led into the field. In this manner it is true that the Austrians in Galicia were immediately released to the extent that they could relieve Przemysl and bring to a stop on the entire front the Russian attack. The Russian Army Headquarters, however, succeeded in concentrating such a tremendously

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superior force upon the left bank of the Vistula that the weak German forces, which already had penetrated almost to Warsaw, were not able to accept a decisive engagement. Again, a changed strategic grouping had to take place in order to avoid the frontal attack against largely superior forces.

VON HINDENBURG'S STRATEGY.

The Russians, for the protection of the rear and the right wing of their main Army advancing in a southerly direction, had left comparatively small forces on the left shore of the Vistula, which at Wloclawek and Plock rested with the right wing on the river, while their cavalry was advancing against the province of Posen, but allowed itself to be held in check by weak local troops. At the same time they renewed their offensive against East Prussia, where in the meantime the Germans also had entrenched themselves in such a manner that the attacking forces were unable to attain any successes worth mentioning and, on the contrary, repeatedly suffered severe setbacks.

General von Hindenburg now clearly

FUTURE PROSPECTS.

Serbia—have been obliged to retire, owing to the fact that they were compelled to draw strong forces to the north, is not of decisive importance, in view of the fact, quite apparent, that the Serbs lack the power for a grand offensive. According to human calculation the decision will fall westward of the Vistula, where at present a partial position war appears to develop.

COMPARISON OF PRISONERS.

Great and mighty events in the very near future may bring about a situation entirely changed. One, however, only realises the entire greatness of the successes attained in the East if one on the one hand considers that Germany and Austria-Hungary were here fighting against at least a threefold superiority of numbers, and on the other hand if one pictures the trophies taken from the enemy. At the close of the year there were in our prison camps 3,575 officers and 300,294 men of the Russian armies, apart from the many prisoners who were still being transported. The number of prisoners, by the way, grows from day to day. In addition to the above

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numbers, more than a thousand cannon and approximately a thousand machine-guns, 12 flags, uncounted wagonloads of ammunition and other army vehicles. This represents an entire army that has given up its arms. The prisoners of war in Austria, without the Serbians, also, may be estimated at 150,000 men. The total loss of the Russians, however, to-day is probably not put too high at 1,500,000.

WHAT THE FRENCH HAVE LOST

Similar trophies are to be recorded in the West. At the close of the year there were in our prison camps. of the French, 3,439 officers, 215,905 men, Belgians, 612 officers, 36,852 men, English, 492 officers, 18,824 men. In the Western campaign 1,500 cannon and several hundred machine-guns were captured. About 28,000 Englishmen and Belgians have been disarmed in Holland. The total loss of the French, therefore, will probably not be much less than a million; that of the English may be safely estimated at 100,000 men.

IN THE ZONE OF WAR.

As opposed to these figures, the total number of German prisoners of war in the West and the East will probably at most amount to 100,000. This gives a measure as to the successes on both sides and at least a certain measure for the probable developments of the future.

If our enemies give higher numbers than these they represent an attempt to mislead, for these figures include both civil prisoners and such subject to military duty who have been held in foreign countries before they could reach Germany. As real prisoners of war, however, only such can be counted who fall into the enemy's hands in the zone of war.

PART II. Bernhardi Answered.

CHAPTER VII.

CRUSHING STATEMENT BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

UNDER the heading, "Contradiction of the New German Manoeuvre," the French Government have issued an Official Note in reply to General von Bernhardi's criticism of the progress of the war. According to Reuter's Agency this Note states

"General Bernhardi, reverting to the origins of the war, claims to prove that the concentration of our principal forces on our left wing demonstrated the fixed resolution of the French Government to violate Belgian neutrality in concert with Great Britain.

"To this allegation of General Bernhardi the French plan of concentration is a conclusive reply.

"The whole of the French forces, in virtue

WHEN WAR BROKE OUT.

of the plan of concentration, were, when war was declared, facing to the north-east, between Belfort and the Belgian frontier, *i.e.* :

“ The First Army between Belfort and the general line Mirecourt-Lunéville.

“ The Second Army between that line and the Moselle.

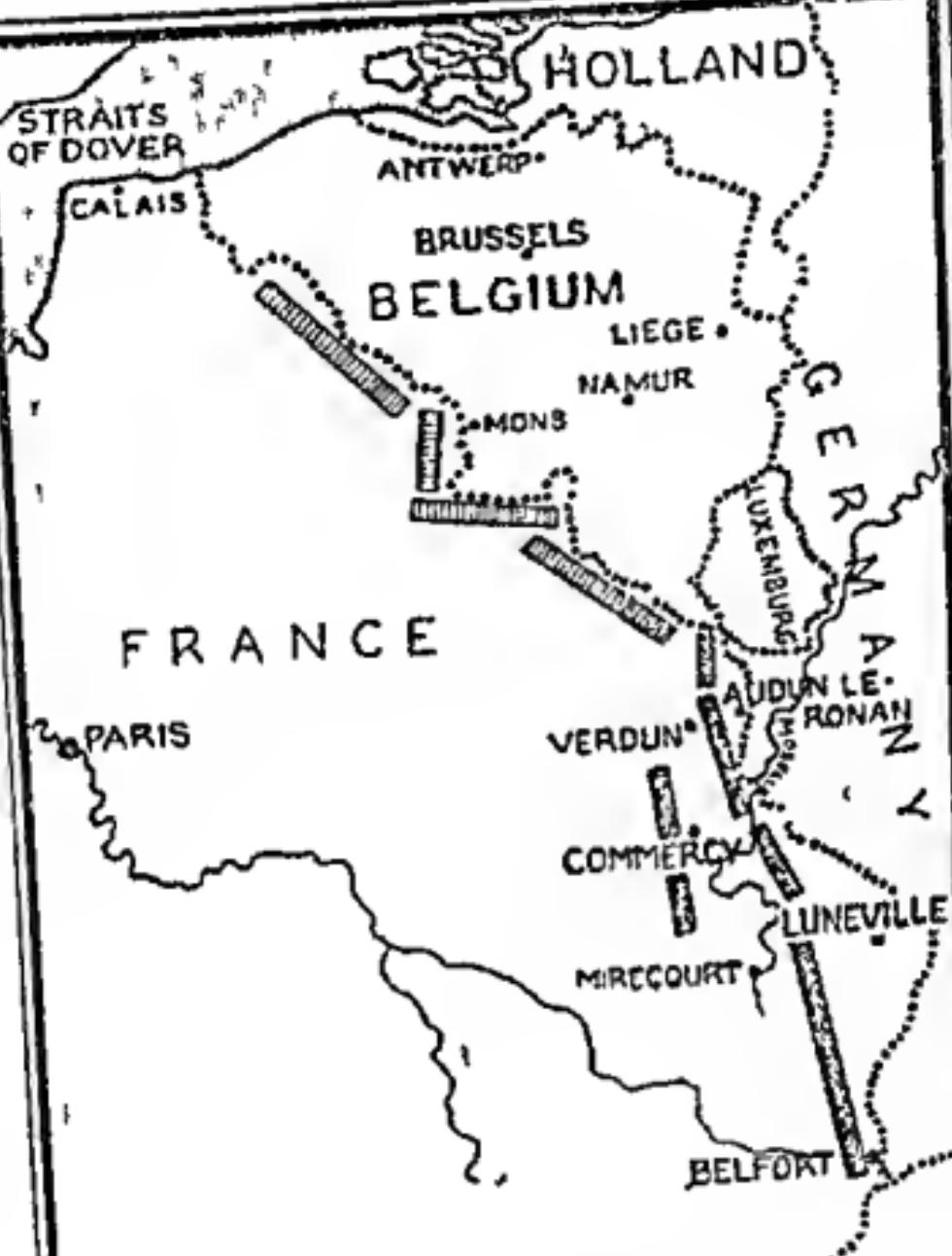
“ The Third Army between the Moselle and the line Verdun-Audun-Le Ronan

“ The Fifth Army between that line and the Belgian frontier

“ The Fourth Army in reserve to the west of Commercy.”

ALL FRONTING GERMANY.

“ Consequently all the French Armies were confronting Germany, and nothing but Germany. This is so true that, when the violation of Belgian neutrality by the German troops became known, the French General Staff was obliged to vary the plan of concentration. The eventuality of these variations had naturally been studied, for numerous indications had made us fear the violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany. When this violation was accomplished, and the Belgian Government



WHEN WAR WAS DECLARED:

This map is drawn from information supplied by the French Government [see their communiqué in this chapter]. The heavy black lines indicate the actual positions of the five French Armies when war was declared. The dotted lines illustrate the points at which Gen. von Bernhardi suggests they were also massed. This truth is important, because it shows that France did not dispose her forces in anticipation of any outrage of the neutrality of Belgium.

VARIATION IN STRATEGY.

(August 4, *Yellow-book*, page 151) asked us for our support, the action of our Second Army was extended as far as the region of Verdun, the Fourth Army was intercalated between the Third and the Fifth on the Meuse, and the Fifth slipped to the north-west along the Belgian frontier to a point opposite Fourmies.

"Moreover, two corps of the Second Army, the 18th and 9th, were transported from the Nancy region to Mézières-Hirson. In this direction also were sent two Algerian divisions and the Morocco division."

MEASURES TO MEET THE SHOCK.

"Finally the cavalry corps was ordered to enter Belgium to reconnoitre the German columns and delay their movement (August 6), three days after the latter had violated the Belgian frontier.

"Thanks to this variation the French General Staff was able to meet the German shock west of the Meuse by bringing up our principal forces to that point.

"If there had been any premeditation on its part this sudden movement of our troops would not have been necessary, and we should

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have been able to arrive in time to prevent the enemy in Belgium from crossing the Meuse.

"A single detail may serve as illustration to this unanswerable argument. Our 'Corps de Couverture' of the left, the second—that of Amiens—was, in virtue of the plan of concentration, not facing the Belgian frontier, but was in the region Montmedy-Longuyon"

"As for the British Army, its support was only assured us on August 5—i.e., after the violation of the Belgian frontier by the Germans on August 3. The concentration of the British Army was carried out behind the fortress of Maubeuge between August 14 and 24.

"On July 30 the French Government, notwithstanding Germany's military measures, ordered our frontier troops to keep at a distance of ten kilometres from the frontier. On August 2 a second order commanded our troops to leave the entire responsibility for hostilities to the Germans, and to confine themselves to repulsing any assaulting troops penetrating French territory. On August 3

MOVE NOT EXPECTED:

another telegram prescribed in the most absolute terms that

"Any incident on the Franco-Belgian frontier must be avoided and that the French troops were to remain from two to three kilometres from the frontier

"On the same day, August 3, a new order confirmed the instructions of August 2. On August 4 an order by the Minister of War stated that Germany was about to attempt by means of false reports to make us violate Belgian neutrality, and rigorously prohibited the troops in formal terms, until orders to the contrary were issued, from penetrating Belgian territory even by means of patrols or single cavalrymen, while aviators were ordered not to fly over that territory

"Only on August 5, at the request of the Belgian Government, formulated on the 4th, were the French aeroplanes and airships authorised to fly over Belgian territory and our reconnoitring detachments to enter it"

CHAPTER IX.

OTHER BERNHARDI BLUNDERS EXPOSED.

IN the course of two leading articles the *Times* (London) has also taken General von Bernhardi severely to task for some of his mis-statements. For instance it observes:

"The Germans would have been better advised to have left their interests in the astute and practical hands of Herr Dernburg than to have summoned to his aid the too notorious author of 'Germany and the Next War.' We are quite content that Americans and other neutrals should compare the German militarist's article with his book, and decide for themselves which of them is the expression of his real opinions. They differ very widely in doctrine and in tone, and the differences will be found exceedingly suggestive.

"The Chauvinist who, when he addressed

WHAT THE "TIMES" SAID.

his own countrymen in 1911, could not preach too nakedly the 'value of war for the political and moral development of mankind,' or inculcate too strongly upon them the 'right' and the 'duty' to make war, who described the peace movement as 'poisonous,' dear only to 'theorists and fanatics,' who sneered at the United States for championing it, and suggested that they did so in order 'to devote their undisturbed attention to money-making,' who looked upon attempts to abolish war as 'immoral and unworthy of humanity,' who declared that 'France must be completely overthrown that she can never again get in our way,' who, with special reference to Belgium, ridiculed the idea of permanent neutrality, and who proclaimed that Germany must deliberately destroy the balance of power in Europe, in order to set up a system of States under her headship—this writer has now the hardihood to explain that the policy of Germany has always been just, honourable, pacific, and eminently fair to the weaker peoples, while this war has been thrust upon her by the malice of her enemies, and, above all, by the insatiable greed and ambition of England

THE ENGLISH YOKE.

conquest and of violation,' he writes, 'of a measureless ambition for rulership and for self-assertion,' which animates his country or his War Lord. All Germany seeks is to vindicate her own freedom and independence—including, however, the position of power due to her—and to effect 'the liberation of the world from the English yoke.' She never intended to conquer and subjugate foreign States. When the General himself placed before her the alternative of 'world power or decline,' he did not mean by 'world power' 'world dominion.' 'The glove of strife insolently thrown before her' compelled her to draw the sword. We had been conspiring to oppress her since the days of King Edward, though, strangely enough, she alone was ready when the hour of battle came.

WHY BELGIUM WAS INVADED.

"The British championhip of Belgian rights he declares to be sheer hypocrisy. England has still to prove—after the fate of Denmark and all the Prussian incorporations of 1866—that Germany has ever so much as threatened

THE NEW BERNHARDI.

"It needs a good deal of effrontery for any German to maintain this position, in view of the facts as to the origin and the conduct of the war which have been established on the evidence of unimpeachable official documents by the Allies, and which have been everywhere accepted as proven and as conclusive. It needs a forehead of brass for the author of the crudest and the most blatant exposition of the creed of Prussian militarism to undertake the task.

IS ENGLAND THEIR WORST ENEMY?

"The article is one prolonged whine over the way in which righteous Germany has been traduced by England and misunderstood by America. Not all the efforts of Bernstorff and of Dernburg, not all the organised exertions of the well-disciplined German-American societies, have succeeded in enlightening Americans on the real merits of the controversy. Bernhardi rushes in to the relief of his hard-pressed countrymen, and instructs America that in this struggle the true champion of liberty and of humanity is Germany, and England is the worst enemy of both. 'It is not the spirit of

THE ENGLISH YOKE.

conquest and of violation,' he writes, 'of a measureless ambition for rulership and for self-assertion,' which animates his country or his War Lord. All Germany seeks is to vindicate her own freedom and independence—including, however, the position of power due to her—and to effect 'the liberation of the world from the English yoke.' She never intended to conquer and subjugate foreign States. When the General himself placed before her the alternative of 'world power or decline,' he did not mean by 'world power' 'world dominion.' 'The glove of strife insolently thrown before her' compelled her to draw the sword. We had been conspiring to oppress her since the days of King Edward, though, strangely enough, she alone was ready when the hour of battle came.

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"The British championship of Belgian rights he declares to be sheer hypocrisy. England has still to prove—after the fate of Denmark and all the Prussian incorporations of 1866—that Germany has ever so much as threatened

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a weaker State. She has, indeed, invaded Belgium, but that was because it is clearly proved, he alleges, that Belgium had long before forfeited her neutrality by the agreements she had made with England. The agreements have been published. They demonstrate, past doubt or question, that our only engagements with Belgium were not to violate her neutrality ourselves, and to come to her aid if it were violated by others. Germany had guaranteed that neutrality. Germany declined to renew to us her guarantee on the eve of the war, and Germany broke her guarantee within the first hours of the war, wrongfully, and for purely military reasons, as her own Chancellor has owned.

" Americans know the full history of the episode as well as we do. We do not think that General Bernhardi's presentment of it, or his account of the plan of campaign which he attributes to the French, will materially affect their judgment.

" The General has adjusted his strategy as well as his morals to the unexpected situation created for him by the war, and to what he conceives to be the level of his American

GERMAN EFFORTS BAFFLED.

audience. He has again shown them how very low he believes that level to be. He forgets that they are accustomed to weigh evidence and ask questions, even from the most highly official personages. The loud assertions and the Zabern manner, which the docile subjects of the War Lord respectfully accept from the Prussian officers set over them, provoke these undisciplined Republicans to cross-examination or to laughter.

"The German *Iliad* which Bernhardi offers them will doubtless cause plenty of both, unless, indeed, its dulness draws down upon it the yet more cruel doom of contemptuous silence. What is to be thought of an account of the war which does not even mention the battle of the Aisne? Does Bernhardi think that Americans have never heard of it? Does he think it prudent to say no word about the German attempts to reach Calais and of how they were baffled?

"After the exploits of the bomb-throwers in Norfolk, it is discreet of him barely to touch upon the use of these 'death-dealing' weapons, but why has he not a word to say about the operations of our Fleet—beyond the

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suggestion that it is kept in check by the German coast artillery? References to the feats of the German submarines and to the German 'war area' are omitted, doubtless from a judicious concern for neutral susceptibilities.

"After all, it is a very apologetic *Iliad*. The author is borne down by the consciousness that he has written a book—indeed several books—and that the hard facts of the campaign ruthlessly disagree with the theories and the expectations they contain. Who has dwelt with greater emphasis than he upon the advantages of a rapid offensive? He has to confess to-day that in the West and in the East the Germans, who had that advantage, have been forced to forgo it, and find themselves fought to a standstill. After the Marne they had to withdraw their right wing, 'and succeeded in breaking away from the enemy.' They had another success of the same kind before Warsaw, and General von Hindenburg 'cleverly broke away from the enemy.' Austria 'victoriously carried out a campaign against Serbia,' but she too was 'obliged to retire,' though she had utilised a great portion

MARKED CHANGE IN TONE.

of 'her power' in this quarter. Over Tannenberg Bernhardi grows dithyrambie; it is unlucky that the publication of his account of this 'annihilating' defeat of the Russians coincides with their reappearance in East Prussia. They advanced in Eastern Galicia—and they have now taken Przemysl—because, he explains, this wing, the wing covering Austria-Hungary, had to be weakened for strategie reasons.

"The General, of course, professes confidence in the victory of Germany, but how different is his tone from that common on German lips a few months ago! Then, we used to hear of dates fixed by 'All-Highest Command' for the occupation of Paris, to say nothing of Ypres and Calais. Now, the fight has 'assumed a stationary character,' and 'it is impossible to foresee how, and by what means, the final decision will be brought about.'

"One thing at least is certain; it will not be brought about in the way and by the means on which Bernhardi and his countrymen relied when they plunged half the world into war."

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The *Westminster Gazette* has also pointed out in regard to Gen. von Bernhardi:—

WHY HIS BOOKS ARE IMPORTANT.

“ What makes his books of importance is not that he wrote them, but that the German people have done what he said they would do, and behaved in war as he said they would behave. That is not to be explained away by any sophistry, and it will have to be atoned for when we come to the reckoning. But the second part of the enterprise, the presentation of the existing facts as they look to German eyes, is both useful and interesting, and it is worth examining with some care by those who wish to measure rightly the present stage of the great struggle.

“ To Bernhardi the record of the war up to the present time is a record of successful German raids on both fronts, raids through Belgium, raids into France, raids into Poland. The original pre-war picture of the rush to Paris and the decisive blow which was to knock France out and release the German Army for the defeat of Russia has passed out of his mind and we are given to understand

SERIES OF DASHES.

that the German Armies last August and September were quite successful in what they took in hand, and withdrew voluntarily at what their enemies miscall the battle of the Marne before a locally superior enemy whom it was no part of their plan to engage. Similarly in regard to the Eastern frontier our General raises paens of triumph over the great victory of Tannenberg, and describes the series of dashes towards Warsaw and back from Warsaw as if they were brilliant achievements, having no other object than that of keeping Germans and Russians busy. Naturally the utmost is made of the occupation of a part of Poland, while the Russian occupation of Galicia is dismissed as a local event of no importance, which was deliberately designed by Germans and Austrians for reasons of strategy.

MAXIMS THAT HAVE BEEN FORGOTTEN.

"The General is unfortunate in crediting the relief of Przemysl to Austrian arms, but he was writing some time ago, when apparently great hopes were still founded on the last German rush to the East. Taking the two

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fronts together, his utmost satisfaction is reserved for the German exploits in Belgium. He calls the reduction of Liège an 'incomparable undertaking,' he speaks of the bombardment of Antwerp as an 'accomplishment without equal in the history of wars.' The General seems to think that these triumphs of the great German Army over the little people, whose territory they had violated, will make a special appeal to the American people.

"Now, let us turn back, for a moment to the Bernhardian conception of war as presented to us before this war broke out. In that the necessity of a quick decision was the dominant idea. For that, as we know, the German General Staff considered themselves justified in invading Belgium. The whole scheme in East and West was to be carefully correlated, so that no time should be given to opponents to rally from the first shock of the German onset. Above all things, the parallel battle of entrenchments, with the consequent immobility and paralysis of the offensive, was to be avoided at all costs.

THE FINAL DECISION.

suppose that all these maxims have been forgotten, and that the German General Staff have nowhere on either front sought a decision, and consider themselves to have done quite well in occupying Belgium and a strip of France and in having kept Russia out of German, though not out of Austrian, territory. 'At the present time,' says Bernhardi, 'it is impossible to foresee how and by what means the final decision will be brought about. Each party will seek to prepare it in one or another way, and whosoever has the most steady nerves and knows how to strike the sharpest and most telling blow will carry away the palm of victory.' Readers of Bernhardi's 'War of To-Day' may consider for themselves what the writer of that book would have said if he had been told that this would be his verdict after eight months of actual war between the Germanic Powers and the nations who are now at war.

"Readers of 'Germany and the Next War' may also recall what its author imagined would happen to Russia and Great Britain if either of them were rash enough to take up the challenge of the Germanic Powers, the internal

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revolution which was to follow in the one case, the rebellions in India and Egypt which were to destroy the British Empire and compel the withdrawal of that presumptuous foe.

BY A FOUL STROKE.

"We would modestly put in, what Bernhardi naturally omits, that we too have achieved something in destroying German commerce with foreign countries and putting the British Fleet between Germany and the world power which he thought was the alternative to her downfall . . . On looking back we see that whatever Germany gained in the Western area she gained in the first six weeks through a stroke which we have every right to think a foul one. From that time onwards there has been a steady reinforcement of the allied position, and we believe that the resources of the Allies, as well as their nerves and courage, will be equal to what lies before them."

A few days ago General von Bernhardi was interviewed by a representative of the *New York World*, but he made no reply to the

WAR WAS UNAVOIDABLE.

criticisms he had evoked in the *Times* and *Westminster Gazette*. Indeed, he denied emphatically that he had anything to apologise for in his books, and there was nothing apologetic in his tone.

"Events have fully justified what I have written," he said. "I saw from the political constellation of Europe that war would be forced upon us, that it was inevitable so far as we were concerned and unavoidable. I pointed this out in plain language. I wanted to arouse our people to a realisation of the imperative necessity of properly arming and preparing as a defensive measure, and I believe I did my country a service. Has not much that I wrote come true? We did not want this war, despite all that has been said to the contrary abroad. I have never advocated or written of an aggressive policy towards England."

BAD TRANSLATIONS.

Bernhardi denied that his books have done Germany more harm than good or that there are few people of his mind.

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a greater circulation in America and England than in Germany, and that they have been used as propaganda against Germany "That's because the vital words of some passages have been incorrectly translated and in some instances wilfully distorted and misinterpreted" he declared

Discussing the charge that he is a radical militarist and glorifies war, he said

' I am not and never have been an advocate of war for war's sake. I take my standpoint on the historical fact that war is a fiery crucible and terrible training school through which the whole world has grown better. War makes for the development of the power of a people, creates consciousness of spirit and freedom and independence through that power. War is a terrible thing and a national calamity as seen from the standpoint of the individual but an evil that has not been without some good.

' Is this the last great war? he was asked

' No but wars will become far less frequent and the causes and grounds for going to war become more and more idealised "